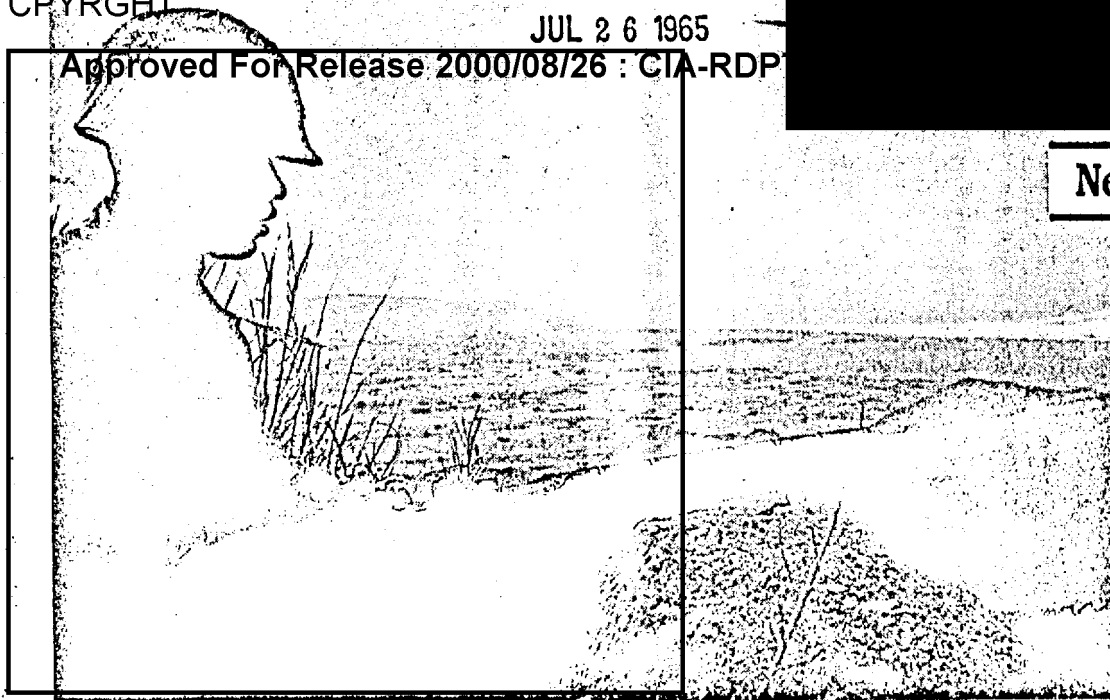


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U.S. Marine outpost in South Vietnam: More men, money and matériel for a long war ahead

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## 'New and Serious Decisions'

Fifteen years ago this week some hopelessly outnumbered units of the U.S. 24th Infantry Division fell back across the Kum River in South Korea, and the U.S. Government and public, shaking off the initial shock of the Communist attack, girded for what ended three years later as the second longest foreign war in U.S. history. The U.S. role in the Vietnamese war has already lasted longer than that, and by last week it was abundantly clear that the U.S. must go on a partial war footing to provide the men, money and matériel for a struggle that could go on with no end in sight.

For the second time in less than a week, a somber President Johnson warned the nation to prepare for a significant expansion of its commitment. "Increased aggression from the North," he told a Tuesday press conference, "may require an increased American response on the ground in South Vietnam ... It is quite possible that new and serious decisions will be necessary in the near future." Said The New York Times in an editorial next day: "Vietnam is a different kind of war from Korea, but it is a war—one the nation must recognize as such; and it is time to say so."

Even as the President spoke, Defense Secretary McNamara, newly appointed ambassador to Saigon Henry Cabot Lodge and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Earle G. Wheeler prepared to take off for South Vietnam and urgent consultations with the country's new military leaders. Before he left, Secretary McNamara held a press conference of his own at the Pentagon, and

declared that further U.S. troop deployments to Vietnam would mean an early callup of reserves, and sharply stepped-up draft calls (page 20).

Behind the scenes, Pentagon planning was already far advanced, and President Johnson had personally given top priority to the following:

- A special request from the Defense Department to Congress for an appropriation of some \$1.5 billion as supplemental funds specifically for the war in Vietnam.

- Final preparation of plans for a limited callup of National Guardsmen and reservists. Though no figures would be announced until McNamara returns from Saigon this week, it was an open secret

at the Pentagon that the U.S. estimates an increase of perhaps 100,000 more U.S. troops in Vietnam by autumn. This would bring the total as high as 175,000. Contingency plans for a still greater deployment are also under study.

- Preparation of plans to freeze military personnel in certain categories, chiefly electronics technicians and other specialists, to stop the drain in skilled and highly trained men.

Throughout the week, Mr. Johnson kept up the pressure—on Congress as well as the public. On Wednesday, the President invited Congressional leaders to a White House legislative breakfast and there outlined the Administration's plans for the troop callup and the request for supplemental funds.

The President stressed the need to alert the public to the sacrifices that would be needed to see it through in Vietnam. He said he was thinking of asking for special Congressional authorization—similar to that requested by John F. Kennedy during the 1962 Berlin crisis—for both the troop callups and the new appropriations.

As the President's advisers see it, the psychological impact of more troop deployments to Vietnam could help produce effective leverage on Hanoi and Peking. Such limited mobilization would also have the effect inside the U.S. of unifying public support, and emphasizing the seriousness of the war to the campus critics, many of whom Mr. Johnson feels are irresponsible. The President made it clear, however, that he would take no final action until McNamara returns from Saigon. At the



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Pentagon, pressure from the hawks persisted, and some officers thought the U.S. should have as many as 200,000 troops in Vietnam by autumn.

In Saigon itself there was further evidence that the U.S. was settling in for a long war and increased casualties. For the first time the Department of Defense imposed a form of limited censorship that will eliminate specific figures in casualty reports (they will be described only as "light, moderate or heavy"), and prohibits any mention of troop deployments or the designation of specific units engaged in battle.

From Vice President Hubert Humphrey, who escorted Adlai Stevenson's body back from London (page 24), Mr. Johnson received news confirming that Hanoi still loftily resists any negotiation. British Prime Minister Harold Wilson and Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart told Humphrey that left-wing Labor M.P. Harold Davies' "peace mission" to Hanoi had produced only "disillusionment." Davies reported, Wilson said, that the North Vietnamese leaders think they are winning, and that he came away convinced that the only way to get them to the conference table is to

punish them militarily until they are ready to negotiate.

Coincidentally or not, U.S. war planes later in the week struck farther north than ever, bombing targets just 40 miles from the Chinese border. In Saigon, McNamara and Lodge listened intently while Premier Nguyen Cao Ky outlined future plans for the war. A U.S. official confirmed that one request was for a massive increase in U.S. combat troops. Earlier in the week, more troops arrived: elements of the U.S. First Division ("The Big Red One" of D-Day fame) landed at Cam Ranh Bay, and



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**F**urther substantial U.S. troop commitments in Vietnam would mean a top-to-bottom step-up in the readiness status of the entire military manpower pool—from the regular soldier to the potential draftee. Here's how a big buildup would affect the active services, the draft, the reserves and the National Guard:

■ **The Active Services**—Enlistments would be frozen, meaning postponed discharges for most of 40,500 due to return to civilian status each month. The Navy and Marine Corps, short of hard-to-replace officers and men trained in electronics and mechanical skills, would slap nearly a total freeze on their normal turnover of 9,000 sailors and 3,500 marines each month. The Army and Air Force, which lose 20,000 and 8,000 men respectively in the average month, would apply the freeze primarily to hands experienced as pilots, electronics technicians and mechanics. Assuming the freeze is put on, the current military manpower ceiling of 2,650,000 would have to be raised.

■ **The Draft**—Draft calls would more than double, from the 16,500 scheduled for August to about 35,000 a month. Roughly 150,000 eligibles stand in A-1 status now, already inspected by military doctors and available for instant call. Of another 600,000 in the eligible pool, Pentagon planners estimate some 45 per cent would be rejected for medical or other reasons. Barring almost total mobilization, most draft-age men (19 through 25 years) would face only a slight step-up in the timing of their

## HOW THE U.S. WOULD EXPAND ITS FORCES

call. No plans for altering the deferment regulations are presently foreseen. Some 540,000 draft-age men deferred because they are married would become subject to call in an emergency. So could another 1.8 million deferred because of physical and "trainability" deficiencies. They would probably serve as limited service, i.e., noncombat troops. Because draftees require at least four months of training to learn basic skills, Defense will order mobilization of the National Guard and reserves first when more troops are needed. Federal officials are unlikely to upset the classifications of 1.6 million deferred as students, 3 million deferred as fathers and 200,000 deferred for occupational reasons. The current average age of callups: 20 to 21. All draftees go into the Army; other services currently accept only volunteers.

■ **The Reserves**—Selected units and men would be called up to reinforce all active services. At present, there are about 932,000 ready reservists on drill pay including 377,000 in the Army National Guard, 261,000 in the Army Reserve, 126,000 in the Naval Reserve, 44,400 in the Marine Corps Reserve, 76,000 in the Air National Guard and 47,000 in the Air Force Reserve. Pentagon sources indicate that nearly 45,000 Marine reservists in the Fourth Marine Division and its air wing will be called up this summer. The Navy probably will call individual officers and noncoms selectively to fill gaps on warships that operate in peacetime at 80 per cent of strength. Scores of battalion- and



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company-size ground Army units—in such specialties as engineering, communications, ordnance, medical aviation, transportation—would be called to beef up regular Army divisions. The President has powers to call reserve units on his own authority. By declaring an emergency himself he can mobilize up to 1 million ready reservists from all services for a period of 24 months. Beyond that, he can ask for a joint Congressional resolution authorizing the call of specific numbers of reservists and reserve units (as was done in the Berlin crisis), or he can ask Congress to declare a national emergency which would empower him to call all reservists—whether in ready or stand-by status. All Army draftees enter stand-by status for six years after discharge.

■ **The National Guard**—The eight top-priority National Guard divisions that face limited mobilization are the 26th of Massachusetts, the 28th of Pennsylvania, the 30th of North Carolina, the 42nd of New York (all infantry), the 50th of New Jersey and the 30th of Tennessee (all armored), the 38th Infantry of Indiana (assigned to emergency Panama Canal defense) and the 47th Infantry of Minnesota (assigned to emergency Alaskan defense). Guard divisions would not be called up in the Vietnam crisis unless the number of regular stateside divisions available for deployment to Europe dropped below six. If the remainder of the regular 101st Airborne and First Army divisions were deployed to Vietnam, two Guard divisions would probably be mobilized.

a brigade of the 101st Airborne Division was en route to another South Vietnamese port.

On balance, the news of the increased price the U.S. would have to pay for the war in Vietnam was taken in stride across the nation. Reports of the plans for heavy new troop commitments, for large-scale increases in military expenditures made top news, but the public seemed unruffled. This was in sharp contrast to the impact that the Korean War caused fifteen years ago, and one measure of what has happened to the U.S. in the intervening years was cited by Buford Ellington, director of the government's Office of Emergency Planning.

**'We Are Prepared':** Ellington said that the nation could now absorb the impact of a Korean-scale war with just a fraction of the budgetary strain and economic dislocation suffered in 1950. "The economy," he pointed out, "is two and a half times as big as it was when we went into Korea. Our productive power has grown from \$265 billion to \$650 billion . . . Our domestic mobilization plan is complete and, we think, up to date . . . We are prepared."

This was comforting enough, yet the fact remained that there had also been some awesome changes in the world balance of power since 1950. Then the U.S. still stood alone as the only nation capable of waging nuclear war (Russia's first atomic device had been exploded only the previous autumn). Now the Soviets face the U.S. as a formidable nuclear opponent, France has her own nuclear arsenal and, within the past nine months, two atomic bombs have been exploded by the newest and most malevolent nuclear power—Communist China. Inevitably, as the cost of the war in Vietnam went up, so did the risks.

## THE PRESIDENCY:

### Out of the Past

What is the difference between U.S. Representative Lyndon Johnson (1937-1948), Senator Lyndon Johnson (1949-1960) and President Lyndon Johnson? The ritual answer to this Republican riddle: his civil-rights stance. Angered by Mr. Johnson's attack on their attempts to amend the voting-rights bill the week before, House Republican leaders Gerald Ford and William McCulloch revived the taunt last week in a "dossier" on Mr. Johnson's voting record.

Between 1940 and 1950, they said, he voted "down the line" against all rights measures. From 1957 until he was elected Vice President in 1960, he voted against civil rights on 21 of 32 key roll-call votes. They characterized Mr. Johnson as a "Lyndon-come-lately" on civil rights, and

publican record had been "clear and good" for years.

At the President's televised press conference (where a new prompting system was introduced for his preliminary announcements), a reporter asked if he would comment.

"Yes," began the measured reply, "I think that all of us realize at this stage of the Twentieth Century that there's much that should have been done and that [the voting-rights bill] is not going to solve the problem completely itself. There will be much to be done in the years ahead. I think the problem of the American Negro is one of the two or

three most important problems that we must face up to with our legislation again next year."

tion to go to Congress this year, would cost \$30 million in its first year. Going on television again to announce it, former teacher Johnson declared, "I am calling upon the Congress to make this beginning even though it is well along in its present session." The problems of education, he said, "do not diminish with the passage of time; neither should our zeal for solving those problems. This act will just be a beginning; but now is the time to begin."

This done, the President introduced his guests for the weekend—evangelist Billy Graham and novelist John Steinbeck—and shortly after left with them



CPYRGHT White House press conference: Philosophy and new faces

three most important problems that we must face up to with our legislation again next year."

He described the Negro struggle as "a very acute problem and one that I want to do my best to solve in the limited time that I'm allowed." Then the President observed: "I did not have that responsibility in the years past and I did not feel it to the extent that I do today. And I hope that you may understand that I think it's an acute one and a dangerous one and one that occupies high priority and one that should challenge every American of whatever party, whatever religion, and I'm going to try to provide all the leadership I can, notwithstanding the fact that someone may point to a mistake or a hundred mistakes that I made in my past."

Mr. Johnson went on providing leadership for a related cause. He sent to Congress his proposed "Teaching Professions Act of 1965" whose provisions include a 6,000-member National Teachers Corps to serve in city slums and poor rural areas and 3,000 fellowships to prepare elementary and secondary schoolteachers.

The program, probably the last major legislative act of the President's first term, was

and their wives for the Presidential retreat at Camp David.

In other actions in a busy week, President Johnson:

- Signed into law the Older Americans Act of 1965, providing \$17.5 million aid for communities engaged in coordinated programs for the elderly, and the Drug Abuse Act of 1965, strengthening government regulation of the manufacture and sale of such "dangerous" drugs as "pep pills" and barbiturates.

- Declared war on crime in the Capital while signing the District of Columbia Appropriations Bill. "We're going to have the best police force in the United States," he vowed, "and we're going to have it, or some fur is going to fly . . . The city must be a safe and secure showplace for the citizens of our nation. We're not going to tolerate hoodlums who kill and rape and mug in this city."

## Filling the Gaps CPYRGHT

Most U.S. Presidents come into office with a carefully prepared roster of their own candidates for top jobs on the White House and executive staffs, but Lyndon B. Johnson acquired his by in-



Changes on the roster: Economist Thunberg, USIA chief Marks

worked well enough at first—resignations were limited for the most part to a handful of the dead President's intimates—but by last week the inevitable attrition of time, fatigue and a yen for change had taken a steadily rising toll of executive staffers. And Mr. Johnson moved to fill the gaps.

To announce his most important appointments, the President chose a nationally televised press conference at the White House, and had some of the new staffers on hand to make their bows before the cameras. First up was U.S. Court of Appeals Judge Thurgood Marshall, Mr. Johnson's choice as U.S. Solicitor General (following story), to replace retiring Archibald Cox.

Next Mr. Johnson announced his nominee as director of the U.S. Information Agency, replacing Carl T. Rowan, who resigned after (if not because of) criticism that the USIA under his direction had been slanting the news to make LBJ policies look good.

There seemed small chance that the new USIA director would be any less accommodating to the man in the White House: he is lawyer Leonard H. Marks, 49, a long-time LBJ crony, onetime assistant to the general counsel to the Federal Communications Commission, and a member of the founding board of the Communications Satellite Corp. Marks' Washington law firm, Cohn & Marks, deals almost exclusively with communications cases, and high up on the firm's list of clients is Austin radio station KTBC, now in trusteeship but owned by Lady Bird Johnson.

**First:** Besides Marshall, the President also named two other Negroes to high posts. William Benson Bryant, 53, who argued and won the precedent-setting Mallory case on police confessional procedures before the Supreme Court in 1957, was appointed a U.S. district judge for the District of Columbia, and Army Maj. Hugh Robinson, 32, a native Washingtonian and West Pointer was named assistant to the President's mili-

tary aide—the first time in history that a Negro officer has served on the White House military staff.

Other Presidential appointments announced last week:

- Phillips Talbot, 50, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, to replace Henry R. Labouisse as Ambassador to Greece. Labouisse resigned to become executive director of the United Nations Children's Fund. Talbot's State Department post will be filled by Ambassador to Turkey Raymond A. Hare.
- Dr. Penelope Hartland Thunberg, 41, a CIA expert on Sino-Soviet economics—and the agency's highest ranking female employee—to become a member of the U.S. Tariff Commission.